DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 314 799 CS 507 020

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TITLE Richard Nixon's "Pragmatic" Space Race: Metaphorically Crafting a National Identity.
PUB DATE Nov 89
NOTE 22p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association (75th, San Francisco, CA, November 18-21, 1989).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Discourse Analysis; *Metaphors; Persuasive Discourse; Political Issues; Presidents of the United States; Public Policy; *Rhetorical Criticism; *Space Exploration
IDENTIFIERS *Nixon (Richard M); *Rhetorical Strategies; Space Shuttle; Symbolic Action

ABSTRACT

President Richard Nixon decided in 1970 to commission the construction of a fleet of reusable space shuttles. Nixon's rhetoric on the space shuttle program (examined here in the light of Kenneth Burke's theory of symbolic action) shows how a philosophy of pragmatism was crafted out of a philosophy of wonderment. That one cannot now remember Nixon's contribution to the space program is a comment on the type of identification he forged for the program. With sentiment against space exploration running high, the president could no longer argue merely that a program driven by the curiosity that led Columbus to the New World needed no greater justification. With American superiority in space proven, Nixon could also not reasonably speak of the Soviet threat in space. Instead, Nixon used metaphors clustering around such themes as adventure, making investments, setting priorities, and expanding horizons. Nixon's metaphors of contemplation of rather than participation in the shuttle program showed that the program made sense, but also killed interest in the program. As a pragmatic man interested in letting the facts speak for themselves, he created an image of a contemplative person who did little more than think. (Thirty-three notes are included.) (SG)

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Richard Nixon's "Pragmatic" Space Race: Metaphorically Crafting a National Identity*

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Paper Presented at the
1989 SCA Convention in San Francisco

*Working Draft

CS507020

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Richard Nixon's "Pragmatic" Space Race:

Metaphorically Crafting a National Identity*

> The space shuttle program is the right next step for America to take, in moving out from our present beachhead in the sky to achieve a real working presence in space--because the shuttle will give us routine access to space by sharply reducing costs in dollars and preparation time.
>
> --Richard Nixon, January 5, 1972

Early in 1970 Richard Nixon changed the course of the American space program by commissioning the construction of a fleet of reusable space shuttles. Not only did this decision alter our understanding of space and technology, but impacted as well on our understanding of who we were as a people and as a nation. No longer were we the space pioneers poised at the edge of the final frontier, but rather, were about to become the space workers routinely completing a variety of space tasks.

The purpose of this essay is to explore the richness of Nixon's rhetoric from a metaphoric perspective. Drawing from Burke's theory of symbolic action--in particular from his thoughts on identification and metaphor--my goal is to demonstrate how Nixon crafted a philosophy of pragmatism out of a philosophy of wonderment. Nixon does not ask the American people to give up space exploration for domestic concerns, but in the spirit of metaphoric transfer, demonstrates how the foundation of wonderment and the foundation of pragmatism are one in the same. Thus the essay first outlines the relationship between identification and metaphor, then briefly underscores the tenor of Nixon's strategy, and finally reveals the way in which his metaphors enact that strategy to shape experience into action.

Identification & Metaphor

One of the guiding assumptions of this essay is that identification--the simultaneous joining and disentangling of interests--is not only related to metaphor--a perspective which seeks to identify commonalities or similarities among phenomena--but rather, is accomplished by it.[1]

Understanding how metaphor performs this unity and division requires an emphasis on metaphor as a dialectically motivated phenomenon which contextualizes people, places, and events into drama.[2] As a dialectically-motivated entity, metaphor brings together contradictory situations and attempts a resolution by which the contradictions become acceptable noncontradictions. Metaphors create relationships between incongruous elements of our objectified reality and, because they force a working through of contradiction, open up new possibilities of dealing with the world.

For example, playing off a contradiction that argues that government is supposed to watch out for its citizens, a metaphor like OUR GOVERNMENT IS ASLEEP AT THE WHEEL[3] aptly captures the tension between the people and the government. What is brought into opposition is not just some literal and figurative meaning or some tension created by a categorical confusion, but rather the implicit understanding that government, as a creation of our social reality, is not doing its job. By dialectic implication, a government that brings us DOWN is one that can pull us UP; the metaphor entertains the possibility of a situation in which government is not lazy, is not irresponsible, is not taxing. The metaphor forges this identification precisely because of this dialectic possibility and the value (UP is better) which it activates.

Just as there are many different aspects of identification, so too there are many different aspects of metaphor. In particular, we can talk about metaphor's stylistic aspect (its ability to give form to individual ideas), its cultural aspect (its ability to play upon and validate appropriate social and cultural norms), and its creative part (its ability to invoke a particular pattern of response).[4] Each of these is motivated by the dialectic energy in a different way. The stylistic aspect is controlled by a social dialectic, a historical dialectic deals with culture, and an experiential dialectic gives form to the creative realm. I consider each briefly.

Conscious or not, the choices of images that a rhetor uses to express an idea embody, to some extent, the beliefs, attitudes, principles, and values of the rhetor and his/her social condition; the act of choosing and invoking a metaphor asserts, however indirectly, that one should "see the world in my way." It is here that a social dialectic of identity/identification enters, for in order to get one to see the situation from your perspective, you must be able to see the world from theirs.

As we communicate, we perform and proclaim our allegiance with certain groups and particular institutions; we align ourselves with some sort of sociality. Yet, we make such identifications, Rueckert suggests, for the purpose of building and maintaining individual characters, individual identities.[5] Thus there arises a paradox between individuals and society. We are on the one hand unique individuals who sense and experience environmental stimuli, but those experiences are given form only as we interact with others in the social sphere. Similarly, it is by virtue of the fact that we have

individual experiences which we share with others that we have an understanding of sociality.

It is the stylistic character of metaphor, rooted in a social dialectic capable of moving us from identity to identification and back again, that reveals a character and socializes the move. That is, in giving form to attitude and expression, it strategically performs identification and identity.

The enculturizing character of metaphor, backed by the force of an historic dialectic, divides the situation a bit differently. Here is a sense of metaphor as a form which sizes up a traditional or universal attitude *and* as a form which personalizes a given value at a given moment. This dialectic comes to life in the "principle of individuation" or in the idea of the scholastic philosophers that "we may make an intellectual concept of goodness, but we can experience only some particular good thing."[6]

In metaphor, the historic dialectic is revealed in a strategy whereby a universal attitude is remade into an individual one. Thus, the cultural character of metaphor emerges in the notion that metaphors have a history which is reproduced and validated every time the metaphor is invoked. Owing to the dialectic of cultural form and its individuation, metaphor infuses a sense of emotionalism or value. It keeps us rooted in an historical tradition that also has power at an individual level.

Finally, we are in the realm of creativity when we recognize the pull of an experiential dialectic. That dialectic emerges specifically in the power of language to open up new possibilities and the recalcitrance of our symbolic and extra-symbolic reality which

tempers such free-flowing ingenuity. Black makes this point well when he notes that "the rules of our language determine that some expressions must count as metaphors; and a speaker can no more change this than he can legislate that 'cow' shall mean the same as 'sheep.' But we must also recognize that the established rules of language leave wide latitude for individual variation, initiative, and creation."[7] We can, in other words, "invent" something, but what we invent must tread upon what we already know. The experiential dialectic pits historical tradition and social fact against individual creativity in such a way that "new" meaning and understanding arises. Because of the power of language, and in particular the creation of a metaphor, we are able to make new observations, posit intriguing relationships, and as Burke notes, open up new "cosmological speculations" where none were before.[8]

Each of these aspects, and their corresponding dialectic energy, make up metaphor. Each, subsequently, contributes to the making of an overall identification. How these aspects play themselves out in Nixon's rhetoric, or more precisely, how Nixon's metaphors set these dialectics in motion, thereby establishing a particular identity for America and the American people, becomes the next topic for discussion.

Nixon's Strategy

Of all the things we attribute to Richard Nixon, changing the direction of the United States' space program is not one of them. We easily remember Watergate, Cambodia, and China, but not the space shuttle. Indeed, if we remember a shuttle at all, it is Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy. That we cannot remember Nixon's contribution to

the space program seems less a comment on Nixon himself and more on the type of identification he forged for the space program.

Nixon was not new to the space program or to space politics. He was at Eisenhower's side when the news of Sputnik splashed across the front page of every paper in the nation. He was the first member of Eisenhower's administration to speak out about the Soviet launch, warning "we could make no greater mistake than to brush off [Sputnik] as a scientific stunt of more significance to the man in the moon than to men on earth."[9]

Yet the space program that Nixon inherited from Lyndon Johnson in 1969 was very different from the one Johnson had inherited from Kennedy, or the one that Kennedy had gotten from Eisenhower. In the 12 years separating Nixon's 1957 speech on the soviet "stunt" and his 1969 earth-to-moon phone call with Neil Armstrong, the world had changed dramatically. Where before there was excitement about the prospects of space, now there was only apathy and boredom. Where once there were images of technological marvels in space, now there were images of technological failures on earth. Where once there was Camelot, now there was My Lai, Watts, Tet, Dallas, and Chicago.[10]

With sentiment against the space program running high, Nixon could no longer invoke what had become known as the Columbus Principle; Nixon could not argue, as had those before him, that "curiosity and purposefulness were the only prerequisites in space exploration" or that space exploration could continue without any "palpable justifications."[11] Nor could Nixon reasonably speak of the "Soviet threat" in space. While the Soviets were continuing to aggressively pursue their space program, the United States had already proven her

superiority. Per the "rules" of the space race set up by Kennedy in 1961, we had already won.

Nixon, in other words, could not invoke the "measureless wonders of space," nor could he picture us as "jeremiads on the enemy's impending control of the universe."[12] Amidst domestic strife and moral disillusionment, Nixon had to create a new identity for space exploration. A close look at Nixon's rhetoric reveals a strategy designed to do just that.

Some 100 individual metaphors clustering around such themes as adventure in space, making investments, setting priorities, and expanding horizons give form to Nixon's rhetoric. More important, however, than the many individual metaphors and themes is the way in which they tap into, exploit, and draw upon the social, historical, and physical resources of the American experience. Indeed, the uniqueness of Nixon's rhetoric lies in the way in which he juxtaposes the discovery of space with the discovery of earth, the manner in which he combines the necessity of space exploration with the search for our roots, and finally, the fashion in which he transforms space exploration into an everyday occurrence. Nixon, in other words, crafts a space program for the future based on current earthly priorities. I consider each move in turn.

Cluster One:

The Heavens Among the Earth

In "Order and Disorder in Anti-Abortion Rhetoric," Randall Lake argues that a common, recurrent pattern in many fields of thought is the descent-ascent pattern.[13] That pattern works, Lake asserts, through spatial, qualitative, and attitudinal images which first present the human condition as moving downward, and then reverse the

trend by projecting the image upward. While Lake's concern is with the way in which this pattern is exploited in the anti-abortion rhetoric, there is no doubt that it play a role in Nixon's overall strategy of transformation. In Nixon's rhetoric, however, the movement occurs in reverse: space travel takes us upward to the moon and, having reached the moon, beckons us to return to Earth.

Nixon works from the very beginning to not only take us back into space, but to turn us homeward. His metaphors work to establish an image of people looking out into the galaxy and from the galaxy back to earth. A quick glance through Nixon's speeches reveals metaphors like: REACHING WITH PRECISION FOR THE MOON and FALLING INTO RAUCOUS DISCORD ON EARTH;[14] IN THROWING WIDE THE HORIZONS OF SPACE WE HAVE DISCOVERED NEW HORIZONS ON EARTH; [15] iN THAT MOMENT OF SURPASSING TECHNOLOGICAL TRIUMPH, MEN TURNED THEIR THOUGHTS TOWARD HOME AND HUMANITY;[16] HOWEVER FAR WE REACH, OUR DESTINY LIES NOT IN THE STARS BUT ON EARTH;[17] TECHNOLOGICAL GENIUS BUT HUMAN LIMITATIONS;[18] TAKING ANOTHER STEP ACROSS THE THRESHOLD OF HEAVENS[19]--all of which orient through an up-down vertical pattern and a merger of space and earth. Centered around a contradiction between discovery of the moon and discovery of the earth, the metaphors first create the illusion of individuals reaching upward, and then mirror in that illusion a projected thrust downward.

Consider, for instance, a metaphor like REACHING WITH PRECISION FOR THE MOON and FALLING INTO RAUCOUS DISCORD ON EARTH. It is powerful in exposing the contradiction between space discovery and earth activities, and in motivating one to adopt both a personal and public philosophy of "enough." Quite literally the metaphor argues that our "reaching" or stretching beyond ourselves for space--something that

once was extremely important--now contrasts drastically with our life on earth. The image activated is that while we have demonstrated excellence in space, we have neglected the concerns of earth.

Beyond mere literal interpretation, the power of the metaphor to motivate one to act against our current attitudes toward the space program takes its shape from the experiences of physical and historical oppression which it activates. Physically, the metaphor individuates the excitement of reaching up, of striving, of going beyond, of being exact, and the frustration with what lies below, failing. Who, for instance, has not experienced the phenomenon of reaching for something that lay just outside your grasp, only to stumble to the ground having reached the prize; who has not put all their time and energy into achieving a goal, only to discover that the end did not justify the means? In this metaphor, the upward motion of the space program serves to heighten a move downward; by dialectic implication, the metaphor entertains the possibility of a situation in which the space program is not burdensome, is not akin to domestic failing.

The physical push upwards towards excellence is not the only aspect of the metaphor which angles the individual downward; the downward thrust is complemented as well by the emotions extracted from our understanding of the times. It calls our attention, in other words, to the dissention, to the din of angry voices, to the protests, to the assassinations happening on earth. As the precision of the moon landings pushes against the chaotic state of earth, the metaphor remakes us into the person fed up with the protests, the demonstrators, the riots, the disorder, the chaos. We are transformed, in other words, into the individual who will no longer

tolerate the current state of affairs--especially given that we can reach for the moon with such exactness. The metaphor motivates the American people to enact a posture of "enough" and to work towards a new interpretation of the space program.

THROWING WIDE THE HORIZONS OF SPACE WE DISCOVERED NEW HORIZONS OF EARTH reveals a complementary up-down pattern and, as well, a side-to-side movement. Having gone to the moon we are now confronted by the image of a person who stands at a door, who hesitates but a moment, and who then gives a tug and opens it wide. It asks us to compare our approach to space with our approach to earth, and to realize that they are the same, and yes designed to make us think of the bold ways in which we as Americans stood at the end of the new frontier, paused but a moment, and then blasted off into space.

Such an image transforms our understanding of space. Outer space is remade into a vantage point from which we now view the earth: space becomes not the end goal, but the lens by which we can now consider other things. Again, a common experience is invoked: who has not had the experience of climbing to the top of a hill, and then of turning around and surveying the trek upward. Nixon works to establish a new perspective for the space program, quite literally, by asking us to take a new look at our past treks. These images invite us to look, to think, to see, to compare, to realize.

THE HEAVENS HAVE BECOME A PART OF MAN'S WORLD[20] typifies the movement contained in the juxtaposition of moon exploration with concern for the earth. It goes further than the previous two examples by making the connection explicit. Here, the upward movement to the moon actually becomes a part of the downward thrust to the earth; what is up is down. We are not stretched as in the first example; there is

no sense of pressure or of failing. Rather, there is a sense of unity, a sense in which the entire universe is brought into the purvey of "man."

These images make us look up and then down, make us think about where we have come and where we might be going, focus attention on the discovery of the moon and, in the process, ask us to discover the earth. The calmness and perfection contained in our reaching for the moon compares with the violence and disorder on earth, and a gaping hole between the two is created. As Nixon brings the moon into the realm of earth, and vice versa, the gulf between them begins to disappear. Metaphorically, in other words, Nixon both creates and then offers a solution to the gulf separating the earth and the moon. Such images establish Nixon as the one with the vision, as the one with the master plan.

Cluster Two:

Wonderment Lost and Found

In contrast to the first cluster which exploits the up down pattern to create an understanding of a "successful moon experience" and a troubled earth in need of a new perspective, the second cluster emphasizes the necessity of continued space exploration. What initially seems a contradiction (in terms of the first cluster) soon becomes the basis for a whole new approach to space exploration in America. These images play about the edges of our recent moon landings and work to renew energy and excitement in the area of space exploration.

Initially Nixon invokes what appears to be the Columbus Principle. Following the successful launch of Apollo 14, Nixon states that,

> in a way we are like the people who must have stood on the dock at Palos, Spain, and watched Columbus's ships disappear, believing they were watching the end of a great events, when they were watching the beginning. But where they watched the world being opened and we do know it. It was the end of a great event when it was the beginning--we know ours to be a great event.[21]

This, however, is not the experience of discovery for discovery's sake. Rather here we are united with, and yet separated from our past, from our ancestors. We are like those from our past in that we watch exploration events take place, and yet history has given us a new perspective. We can view the past with a hind sight knowledge. We know, unlike those people who watched Columbus sail away, that the earth was not round, and more significantly, we know that Columbus actually did something fantastic like discovering a new world. It is our knowledge, the passage suggests, which differentiates us from those who came before us.

Simultaneously, the intermingling of beginnings and endings appeals precisely because we have all had some sort of experience with something we thought was over--only to discover that it actually was what led to something else. We have a sense here of the passage of time, of a process where beginnings give way to new beginnings. And again, these images invite us to adopt a new perspective, the perspective of knowing contemplation. To become a part all we need do is look and think, they lead once again to an emphasis on perspective-taking.

That this yearning for exploration is contained in man's make-up is never questioned by Nixon, but invoked as proof that we must continue to discover. Every lunar liftoff REFLECTS our RESTLESS QUEST FOR

BEGINNINGS;[22] REENACTS ANOTHER, DEEPER RITUAL;[23] exposes the PRIMAL NEED IN MAN'S BLOOD TO KNOW FROM WHERE WE'VE COME;[24] PROVES MAN'S INVINCIBLE WILL TO MASTER THE MOMENT OF HIS DESTINY;[25] BRINGS TRIBUTE TO MAN'S UNQUENCHABLE THIRST FOR UNDERSTANDING.[26] Such phrases are filled with emotionalism, even for a president known for his factual information. And yet, while these images tap into unique human experiences--the search for our roots, the search to figure out exactly who we are, the desire to get to the essence and center of life--they do not quite motivate to action. The images, in other words, do not contain kernels of action, but rather, kernels of knowledge; they expose wonderment.

The sense of wonderment is augmented by the force of history. Nixon states:

> We had little idea what LAY BEFORE us, but there was new knowledge to be GAINED and there was a HERITAGE OF MEETING HISTORICAL CHALLENGE--the challenge of greatness--TO BE SUSTAINED. We are TAKING ANOTHER LONG STEP in man's ANCIENT SEARCH for his own beginnings, PRESSING BEYOND knowledge of the means of human existence to find, perhaps, the meaning of human existence.. . . The MAKING of space history will continue,and this Nation MEANS TO PLAY a major role in its making.[27]

Again, the images are descriptive rather than posed toward action. Again they tell us that a precedent has already been established and that our posture ought be one of staying the course. We need not, then, be any more creative or ingenious than we were in the past; we need merely to sustain, to maintain our previous goal.

Within this cluster of images there unfolds a drama whereby the American people become space "tenders." In invoking an elevated sense

of knowledge, the essence of human nature, and historical precedent Nixon establishes a rationale for a continued space effort. While this cluster of images, like the last, asks us to stop and look, it also asks us to continue on. The question then becomes how can we continue on if we must also stop and look; how in other words can we make a beginning out of an ending. It is here then that a third cluster of metaphors become operational, a cluster capable of completing the transformation from wonderment to pragmatics.

Cluster Three:

The Extraordinary Becomes Routine

Perhaps the most unique and inviting characteristic of metaphor is the way in which it brings together and resolves contradictory experiences. No other process, in fact, is expressly designed for such a task. Thus in Nixon's rhetoric, stopping to look and think about the commonalities of the moon and earth not only meets continued exploration, but easily interacts with and comfortably lives side by side with it. This is possible because a third cluster of metaphors creates an image of the American space program as ordinary and routine. In bringing the space program to earth, Nixon is able to make it a continuous part of our every day experiences. We are asked then to explore, but our exploration must be tempered with an interest in earth; we must be able to connect our exploration to the earth. This is a cluster that is activated by the language of business: Nixon asks that we "think of the space program not only as an adventure of today, but as an investment in tomorrow."[28] Space activities become then:

> A PART of our lives for the REST OF TIME; we must think of them as PART of a CONTINUING PROCESSES--one which will go on DAY IN

> AND DAY OUT, YEAR IN AND YEAR OUT--not as a SERIES OF SEPARATE LEAPS, each requiring a MASSIVE CONCENTRATION OF ENERGY and will and accomplished on a CRASH TIMETABLE. What we do in space from here on it must become a NORMAL AND REGULAR PART of our national life and must therefore be PLANNED IN CONJUNCTION with all of the other undertakings which are also important. They must take their place within a RIGOROUS SYSTEM of national priorities.[29]

Clearly this paragraph works to make the doing of space exploration commonplace; indeed, it takes something that is extraordinary--going to the moon--and argues that it is a true part of life. It is an easy step to move from the notion that discovery is a part of the human experience, and that discovery is a continuous process, to a desire to make the space program compatible. This image is enhanced with the day in, day out, year in and year out notion. Our space program ought to be not just daily, but almost mundane.

It is into this milieu that Nixon introduces the concept of the space shuttle, and it is into this milieu that the space shuttle concept becomes readily acceptable. The shuttle, Nixon explains, is

> a new type of space transportation system designed to help TRANSFORM the SPACE FRONTIER of the 1970s into FAMILIAR TERRITORY, EASILY ACCESSIBLE FOR HUMAN ENDEAVOR in the 1980s and 90s. It will REVOLUTIONIZE transportation into near space by ROUTINIZING it. It will take the ASTRONOMICAL costs out of ASTRONAUTICs. In short, it will go a long way toward delivering the rich benefits of practical space utilization and the valuable spinoffs from space efforts into the daily lives of Americans and all people.[30]

The passage is appealing in part because of our experiences with the new frontier and the space frontier, and our understanding of familiar territory. Such a passage calls attention not only to the pioneers who crossed the plains, but to those who did the same in space. It plays on our understanding that experience itself creates knowledge, and that knowledge in turn leads to familiarity. We know what space is like, the images continue to suggest, and thus need to focus not on exploration per se, but on getting on with the process of living. What was special is not ordinary.

The Strategy of Metaphor: Changing Directions

The vision of America and the American space program that Nixon's metaphors create is a complete one. It takes us from the realization that the discovery of the moon can not occur without a simultaneous discovery of the earth, it brings us face to face with the understanding that our quest for understanding is a mainstay of the American character, and it forces us to accept that we have moved beyond the pioneering stage and must now work on improving our efforts.

Nixon's vision of America is not especially powerful or compelling. The images are common and easy to visualize, and yet they bring no real action. The images make sense, and yet they do not call for much activity. We are not asked to participate in the space program, per se; rather we are asked to contemplate it. We are no longer the spectators filling the stadium and cheering the program on, but rather are now the strategists who think and plan and invest and maintain. Thus while Nixon's decision to move to a reusable space shuttle was a most economical choice--indeed the best choice given the times, and

while Nixon's metaphors created a sound backdrop against which the shuttle makes sense, that decision and those metaphors essentially "killed" interest in the program.

The problem, of course, is that metaphors are not neutral. They have, in Hasting's words, "assumptions at their roots" which lead to particular kinds of action.[31] Lakoff and Johnson go further, capitalizing on metaphor's ability to highlight and hide, construe and constrain. "In allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept," they state, "a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor."[32] Edelman underscores this notion when he suggests that "each metaphor intensifies selected perceptions and ignores others, thereby helping one to concentrate upon desired consequences of favored public policies and helping one to ignore their unwanted, unthinkable, or irrelevant premises and aftermaths."[33] Nixon's metaphors are no different; in taking away our pioneering posture, in making our need to explore part of our everyday characteristics, Nixon removes the awe surrounding the space program. Whereas a decade earlier the program had been elevated to a special position in life, now it was no different than education, housing, or any other governmental concern.

While the movement from pioneer to non-pioneer did indeed dampen interest in the space program, it alone was not responsible. The entire complex of Nixon metaphors must be considered. Had Nixon been able to fashion a more active America, a more active American, he may have been able to rekindle the excitement of an earlier decade. As a pragmatic man interested in letting the facts speak for themselves, however, he could do no more than to create an image of the contemplative person who did little more than think.

Notes

1. The merger between identification and metaphor is made by Bernard Brock in "Epistemology and Ontology in Kenneth Burke's Dramatism," Communication Quarterly 33 (1985): 95. He draws as well from Chesbro's article on symbolic construction, as did I. See Jim Chesbro, "The Symbolic Construction of Social Realities: A Case Study in the Rhetorical Criticism of Paradox," Communication Quarterly 32 (1984): 164-71. For additional insight into identification, see Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1950); for additional insight into metaphor, see Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall 1945) and Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965; rpt. 1954, 1935).

2. This conceptualization of metaphor is a dialectic process which unites and resolves contradictions emerges from the work of Kenneth Burke and Lawrence Grossberg. As a result of this work, I define metaphor as "a linguistic act which functions to constitute, express, exploit, act upon, and overcome the contradictions and paradoxes created in a world of humanity's own making." See in particular, Kenneth Burke, Attitudes Toward History (Berkeley: U of Cal. P, 1950), "Linguistic Approaches to Problems of Education," in Modern Philosophies and Education, the Fifty-Fourth Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, ed. N.B. Henry (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1955), 259-303; "Rhetoric--Old and New," The Journal of General Education 5 (1951): 202-04; Permanence and Change; and Lawrence Grossberg, "Marxist Dialectics and Rhetorical Criticism,"QQarterly Journal of Speech 65 (1979): 235-49.

For additional work which points toward this interpretation of metaphor, see george Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Metaphors We Live By (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1980); Max Black, Models and Metaphor (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1962); Janet Martin Soskice, Metaphor and Religious Language (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1985); I.A. Richards, Philosophy of Rhetoric (New York: Oxford UP, 1965); and William R. Burch, Jr., Daydreams and Nightmares: A Sociological Essay on the American Environment (New York: Harper, 1971).

3. This metaphor comes from a Greenpeace advertisement. See the November/December issue of the Utne Reader, p. 125 for the full ad.

4. That metaphor has a stylistic, a cultural, and a creative aspect is born out by both the theoretical literature on metaphor, the many criticisms completed in our discipline, and observation. My belief is that these three are naturally intertwined. For interpretations that lean in this direction, see Soskice, Metaphor and Religious Language; Paul Ricoeur, The Rule of Metaphor, trans Robert Czerny with Kathleen McLaughlin and John Costello (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1977); Mark Johnson,

"Introduction: Metaphor in the Philosophical Tradition," in Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1981), 3-47; and Andrew Ortony, Ralph E. Reynolds, and Judith A. Arter, "Metaphor: Theoretical and Empirical Research," Psychological Bulletin, 85 (1978): 919-49.

5. William H. Rueckert, Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1963; rpt. 1983), 42-43.

6. Burke, Attitudes Toward History, 47.

7. Black, Models and metaphors, 29.

8. Burke, Permanence and Change, 258.

9. "Text of Address by Nixon in San Francisco Assessing Challenge of Soviet Satellite," New York Times, 16 Oct. 1957.

10. See Richard W. Fox, T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., The Culture of Consumption (New York: Pantheon, 1983), pp. 177-236.

11. See the National Space Program: Report of the Select Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration (Washington, 1958), p. 3.

12. Fox and Lears, The Culture of Consumption, p. 195.

13. Randall A. Lake, "Order and Disorder in Anti-Abortion Rhetoric: A Logical View, Quarterly Journal of Speech 70 (1984): 425-43.

14. Richard Nixon, "Inaugural Address," 20 Jan 1969, cited in The Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard Nixon 1969 (Washington, 1971), pp. 1-4.

15. Nixon, "Inaugural Address."

16. Nixon, "Inaugural Address."

17. Nixon, "Inaugural Address."

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